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Pro-Slavery.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

DEBATE ON SLAVERY.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Rev. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, took the ground that the memorial was in error, in asserting that a slaveholder could not be a Christian. In the churches which St. Paul founded, there were Christians—sincere and good Christians—who held slaves; and Dr. B. held that the Board should recognize the same principle. He was willing, as the report recommended, to leave the question to the responsibility of the missionaries themselves. He would, however, be confessed, have liked the report better, had it contained the distinct avowal, that Slavery is not a sin, intrinsically, and that this Board ought not to be coerced into making it such. Dr. B. was followed by

Rev. Mr. Green; who remarked that he believed the sentiment alluded to, was embodied in the report.

Rev. Mr. Root, of New Hampshire, opposed the report, and took strong abolition ground against it, as sanctioning slaveholding.

The Rev. Dr. Dwight, of Portland, Me. was in favor of a free discussion of the subject. If there were these present, he said, he would not think it ought to be allowed to them to say so, without invidious imputations. Great principles were involved in this question, having their response in every heart.

He was not a so-called Abolitionist; and yet he did lean to the idea, that Southern Slavery was inconsistent with the practice of true Christianity. He believed it to be at variance with the law of God, and every dictate of an enlightened conscience. Who could look on it, on the separation of families it involves, the principle of concubinage which it sanctions, the introduction of a third color, which would never have existed, had it not been for Slavery?—men forbidden to teach their fellow-men to read their Bibles, without being convicted that it was so? It was abhorrent to the Bible, and to the principles which lay back of the Bible, upon which the Bible, itself, was built, and which, had the Bible never been written, would still have existed.

The tone of feeling in his section of the country was in favor of good order; and there was no such thing there as stifling public opinion on this subject, or any other. The current sentiment there needed no mouth-piece to make it known; and he believed that on this subject, he represented the decided and strong opinion of the people. In his section of the country, and that of opinion, called, at the hands of this Board, for an explicit condemnation of Slavery, as a system of breaking up the social ties, and family ties, and which specifically prohibits the reading of the Bible. With the general tenor of the report he agreed; but he did hope for, and must insist on, a more explicit recognition, at the hands of the Board, of the sinfulness of Slavery; a more distinct, decided, righteous recognition of its guilt. He looked at the subject in its influences on the perpetuity of the Union of the States, and expressed the hope that the report would be amended, in accordance with his suggestions.

Professor Stowe was astonished that such interpretation should be put upon the report. The document was opposed to the system of Slavery throughout, whenever and wherever existing, in theory or practice. True, the committee did not regard a man's standing in a legal relation to Slavery, as necessarily involving guilt which should exclude him from the communion. Evidence of piety was deemed the only requisite for church membership. The whole question of Slavery was not before the committee.

Rev. Jotham Sewall, of Me. made a few remarks expressive of his belief, that much attachment existed between masters and slaves at the South; and his own observations, when in that region, some years ago, and urged prayer, both for masters and slaves. At the request of the president, he offered a short and earnest prayer for light, and a blessing on the Board.

Rev. Mr. White, from South Carolina, made a very interesting and eloquent speech, avowing the opinion that while his first impressions had been favorable to the report, the course of the debate had led him to question the entire wisdom of that document. He had supposed the doctrine of the report to be, that Slavery was not in all cases a moral evil, and he deprecated the consequences, if it was to be understood as maintaining the contrary.

He had spent twenty-five years at the North, and about the same time at the South. He thought he enjoyed opportunity for forming a judgment on the question. What he had now heard convinced him that men were much the same in their prejudices and passions everywhere. He had heard at the South sentiments against union with the North, much the same as what he now heard against slaveholders. He protested against founding an opinion of whole communities from the acts of a few individuals. He thought the opinion that Slavery was not necessary and in all cases a moral evil, generally prevalent south of Mason and Dixon's line.

He questioned the entire wisdom of the report. It aimed at revolutionizing the social condition. It would not rest—abolish Slavery in the South, it would do the same in Africa—would visit Europe—and seek to drive every evil out of the world. The Board would find this out of their power, and were they to effect it, they would sweep the despoils of the Pope, and either be overthrown, or crush the world. He spoke of having administered the holy communion to masters and slaves at the same table, at the South—of the noble sacrifices made by the good Christians there, for the benefit of the Africans, and how however they might be reproached, he expected to meet them crowned with honors, and rejoicing with their slaves in the kingdom of glory.

Dr. Ide made a thoroughgoing abolition speech; thought disaffection existed in many minds toward the Board, and that it was deemed pro-slavery. He undertook to represent slaveholding as a sin to be ranked with theft, gambling, &c.

Judge Darling insisted that we were not here to discuss the evils of Slavery, or intolerance, but that a report had been made by a committee at the last meeting of the Board, on Slavery, and he supposed that subject disposed of—but certain memorials had been sent in containing charges against the Board; they were referred to the same committee to investigate, and the report adopted without alteration or amendment.

Rev. Mr. Phelps, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery

Society, opposed the report in a warm speech. Why, asked he, condemn the thing, and excuse the man who does it? He called the act a sin, and said that he who commits it may be a Christian? Why place ourselves in the predicament of saying but not doing? We do not thus, in the cases of drunkenness, of polygamy, or any other sin, and why in this? As to exceptions, what have the Board to do with them? They should be left to take care of themselves. In the rule, with which the Board has to do, And he concluded his speech with offering a series of resolutions, by way of indicating a modification of the report, so that it may be a decided testimony against the sin of Slavery wherever it exists.

The Rev. Dr. Beecher made an ingenious speech, insisting that masters and slaves existed in the primitive churches, and that it was allowed by Christ and his Apostles; that Slavery was what he called an organic sin, made by law, and therefore not dealt with as other sins, and while the poor Indians might be tolerated in practicing it, more instructed and enlightened persons might incur guilt in so doing, and that because it might be right to admit slaves into new communities, it was not right, in future, be right. He appeared doubtful whether it would be or not expedient for the Board to disconnect themselves from all missionaries and churches connected with Slavery.

The venerable Dr. Williston made some very sensible and judicious remarks, and insisted that the principles of the report were in accordance with the early churches, and that they had sought particular instructions of Christ and his Apostles, and could not make conditions of communion which they did not make.

Dr. Wisner deprecated the whole discussion, thought there was a purpose to oppose the Board into an Anti-Slavery society, and that it was possible to satisfy the Abolitionists—spoke of what he had seen of their movements to break up churches, and should they obtain an ascendancy, he should consider the days of the society's prosperity at an end. He was opposed to this apple of discord.

Dr. A. Benson begged to say a few words. He thought they were using a spirit of the occasion, indulging in feelings, perhaps, displeasing to the great Head of the Church. He hoped the discussion would cease, that they would take the question to-night (for he hoped they would sleep and pray over it), but in the morning, and that the matter would be considered settled—that there would be no more of these annual meetings. He said that the report would prove satisfactory to the people in whom he had great confidence; if not, he would be ready to act as hereafter might be deemed best.

He then moved the previous question (on Mr. Phelps' amendments first), which, being seconded, a successful motion was made to adjourn, till this morning (Thursday).

The sketch of the afternoon debate, we make from the Journal and Express.

THURSDAY MORNING'S SESSION.

The Board was opened by the usual religious services. Dr. Anderson expressed his opinion that the discussion had better be continued, and the principles of the Bible, pro and con, be put before the previous question was withdrawn.

Professor Stowe, of Cincinnati, defended the report. He showed that when the oppressed Jews appealed to Christ, whether they should pay tribute to Caesar or not, and obey the oppressive Roman laws, he gave them a non-committal answer, and he (the professor) believed that the same suggestion the call for the previous question was withdrawn.

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But it would not do to say that the legal proprietors of this land should not be admitted to communion. The fault was not theirs, but if the system were allowed to go on, it would be the fault of this Commonwealth. So with Slavery, it had its origin in sin, and God never meant that man should be, or made to make, the slave.

What is slaveholding? Why, the slaveholder was not necessarily to carry out all the tyranny of the law, but to use his prerogative of mercy and kindness, and the Church is to decide whether he has done so. The Church may inquire how he came into this connection, and how he conducts himself according to the principles and doctrine of Jesus, the Church has no right to prohibit him from the communion.

Perhaps he involved himself—if so, he is responsible; or, he may have taken no pains to free himself, then too, he is responsible; or, he may not pay for, or desire the abrogation of the system, and for them they are responsible.

The speaker, however, knew that those gentlemen who were confused, by not being able to make the distinction he had made, could not adopt that report—he did not ask them, nor would he. But on the other hand, neither he nor the people could adopt the views of those gentlemen who objected to the report—the people would not stand such nonsense.

However, if he (the speaker) were in the minority, he would only say, that he could not act with any Board that could adopt the amendment of Mr. Phelps. Rev. Mr. Ludlow, of Poughkeepsie, spoke at some length, confining himself almost solely to facts, in proof that a man legally a slaveholder, might be one of the noblest and best of Christians.

Selections.

From the Dublin Freeman's Journal.

LOYAL NATIONAL FREEMAN ASSOCIATION.

The weekly meeting of the association was held August 4th, in Conception Hall, Dublin. Mr. John O'Connell, M. P. accompanied by Captain Broderick, entered the Hall, about one o'clock, and was received with loud cheers. After the transaction of sundry business, and a very deeply interesting speech from Captain Broderick, Mr. John O'Connell rose.

We make the following extracts from his speech, and give entire the interesting debate which followed:

The Americans say that all the old causes of grievance will be settled in the present war, and that the old oppressions were as life as ever (hear, hear), and the spirit in which those oppressions were committed. They were aware of the long list of oppressions which the black pages of the history of England's connection with Ireland contained—oppressions inflicted by England upon Ireland; and they knew that the spirit in which those oppressions were committed was as life and active against them as ever in England (hear, hear). They knew that, and they knew also that the people of Ireland were not to be deluded; and that so long as Ireland was dispossessed, so long was England weak. They knew that Sir Robert Peel would not have a shot fired from one of the British ships, or the power of the British flag, to be used in the support of the British regiments that gallant arms in England, so long as the people of Ireland were discontented (loud cheers). The Yankees knew that; and they saw, that the unenviable, bigoted, political and religious, of the people of England; so abundantly testified in their conduct with regard to the Maynooth grant alone, we could prevent Peel, all potent as he otherwise might be, from making any more valuable concessions to the people of Ireland (hear, hear).

Therefore, the Americans saw they were safe in their aggressions against England, so long as Ireland was dispossessed—so long as Sir Robert Peel did not address the wrong of Ireland (hear, hear). Therefore, they thought they would go on, to seize every portion of territory that they desired—Oregon in the North—Texas in the South—California in the West—and accordingly they were doing so. They had already had hold of Texas. It appeared to him that the sentiments which it was proper for the people of Ireland to feel with regard to the Texas question were those of a very mixed description. He regretted to see in the columns of the excellent Freeman's Journal, that Irishmen in America were warped by the vile opinions that prevailed there, and the vile influences of Slavery which are experienced in that country.

And thus the Bible regard Slavery—as a more sympathetic with it, than it did with the evil which he had advertised. A single enactment from among those of the old Testament in relation to Slavery, would, if carried out, very rapidly make Slavery unknown—"Thou shalt not restore to his master, the servant that hath escaped from his master; he shall dwell in one of thy cities: thou shalt not return him." So that if the slave were unhappy, he had only to leave and he was free. Let the principles of the Bible regulate their missionary operations, and all would be well.

Dr. Dwight, of Portland, made an explanation as to some remarks made yesterday by him, which had been misunderstood. He thought it was not plain, however, in our report of his speech, viz: that there were certain inward motions of right and wrong, which were at the back of the Bible, and acknowledged by the Bible as inward guides to virtue and truth.

Mr. Williams, a layman, from Farmingdale, was opposed to the report. He thought the committee had professed to say Slavery was wrong, but would not long delay, to show wherein it was right. He knew several contributors, who were waiting the result of this meeting's discussion of the subject. He urged the Board, therefore, to take decisive and intelligent action in the premises, and denied that the people would understand it, and had it with joy, as removing from the subject many difficulties.

He contended that the slaveholder was acting in direct opposition to the requirements of the Bible, and he had now heard, for the first time, on this side of Mason and Dixon's line, that Slavery was sanctioned by the Bible. Was it not "withholding the hire of the laborer?" Did it not tend to evil? Was not that admitted?

Dr. Pearce, of Brookline, Mass. thought that as the report of the committee seemed to be assailed from both sides, they might take comfort and conclude that they were about right.

Mr. Perkins (layman) supported the report, and held that it was the only fair and consistent ground on which their great work could rest. It would be highly dangerous to depart from that principle—if a man gave evidence of love to God, and walked consistently, they must be very cautious how they excluded him from communion.

Mr. Childs, of Lowell, spoke at great length in favor of the report, and held that the people everywhere would easily understand it, and had it with joy, as removing from the subject many difficulties.

Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, thought the debate entirely relevant—and all they could do now was to meet the question fairly, so as to prevent its rearing its head again. He thought they did not make the distinction between Slavery and slaveholding, and he thought that he thought exceedingly obvious.

He thought that not any individual in that Board could give a definition of Slavery, approaching to anything like correction. He would define it, the master did not make the man the slave, but the condition of society. The laws make man a slave, and refuse to do anything for him, but puts him under the control of another, and forbids him to instruct him. And on the other side there was equal condition of ideas.

Slavery is an evil anterior to the laws of the Commonwealth, wrought into its laws; here is responsibility and guilt somewhere, and there will be accountability somewhere. The speaker then ran a

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for one, would never be guilty of any such dereliction, for never would he cease to raise his voice in indignant protest against Slavery, and also against the annexation of Texas, which would go far to extend and perpetuate that abominable system (loud cheers).

Mr. Clements was the next who addressed the meeting at length. There was another topic to which he felt anxious to make a brief allusion. The honorable member for Kilkenny had called forth his enthusiastic plaudits by his spirited and truthful denunciations on the question of American Slavery (hear, hear). The manner in which they had received his denunciation of the iniquitous system did them every credit. An opinion prevailed abroad, to a certain extent, that the association meddled with that question most unwillingly. Now, he (Mr. Clements) was not of that opinion. He thought that all honest men should join in the denunciation of human slavery (hear, hear, and cheers). From his heart he hated and abhorred it. And whether a Repealer, Patriot, or Christian, he should ever abominate and condemn in the most unmeasured terms, and at all times, the horrors of trafficking in human flesh. The member for Kilkenny did not stand alone in his opinion, but he was joined by the great majority of the association (loud cheers).

The association and the Liberator felt as Mr. John O'Connell did (hear, hear). The Liberator never appeared in his (Mr. Clements') opinion; and in that of the country, to occupy a more lofty and commanding position than, two years ago, when, quantities of money flowing in the Repeal treasury from the sale of the Repeal treasury, the opportunity of declaring, that he never would consent to become a secret party to a secret bargain with the American people, in reference to the horrible and demoralizing system of Slavery (hear, hear). In conclusion, he (Mr. Clements) would only further observe, that he considered his honorable friend, the member for Kilkenny, quite right in denouncing the odious and impious practice.

Mr. Richard Scott, solicitor, begged permission to say a few words with regard to American Slavery (hear, hear). He denounced the principle as much as any gentleman present, but he condemned—and this was the first time he had had the opportunity of doing so, in principle, and in practice. He was one of the topic of the association. They had a right, if they meddled with the institutions of America, to do so in a calm and cautious manner. For his part, he was opposed to Slavery, no matter in what part of the globe it was, because they themselves had suffered its horrors; but, when receiving assistance from America, only by means of the active exertion, they ought to take every good care how they meddled with them at all (hear, hear, and cries of oh, oh). There was one institution in Ireland called the Anti-Slavery Society. That Society held its meetings at the Royal Exchange, and (Mr. Scott) thought that that was the place for gentlemen to denounce Slavery, and to do so in a calm and cautious manner. They had a right, if they meddled with the institutions of America, to do so in a calm and cautious manner. For his part, he was opposed to Slavery, no matter in what part of the globe it was, because they themselves had suffered its horrors; but, when receiving assistance from America, only by means of the active exertion, they ought to take every good care how they meddled with them at all (hear, hear, and cries of oh, oh). There was one institution in Ireland called the Anti-Slavery Society. That Society held its meetings at the Royal Exchange, and (Mr. Scott) thought that that was the place for gentlemen to denounce Slavery, and to do so in a calm and cautious manner.

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cal many "criminals" from Ireland, why they should not r

Poetry.

From the Anti-Slavery Bangle.

LINES,

Written on reading of the kidnapping and imprisonment,
in Parkersburg Jail, of three citizens of Ohio, by Vir-
ginians.

Ho, children of the mighty West! Ho, to the rescue
come!

For Slavery's foul and blighting form invades your peace-
ful home.

The humble dwellings that you reared amid the forest-
shade

Beneath whose rustling canopy your infant children play-
ed,

Give no protection now to those who nobly dare to be
free.

The flying bandman's trusty friend, the foe of Slavery,
Ye have seen those dwellings entered, and their inmates
torn away,

And the husband and the brother become the spoiler's
prey.

Ye have seen your neighbors captured; and the hands you
used to press,

Are encircled now by fetters in a dungeon's loneliness.
The roof tree where they gathered, the altar where they
prayed,

The demon-hand of Slavery in ruins now has laid.

Ye calmly heard of Walker, in his Pensacola cell,
Of the grievous wrong and outrage that New England's
sons-betell,

And ye told to your children, with hearts as dead and
cold

To every noble feeling, as the miser's thirst for gold.
Ye heard, but little recked ye of the suffering and pain.

Of the fever-like raving in imprisoned Torrey's brain;
And ye prayed not for the captive, nor the opening of the
door

That was barred and bolted on him in "blood-stained
Baltimore."

Of Work, and Burr, and Thompson, ye scarcely ever
thought,

Their prison in Missouri and their fetters were forgot;
For you fancied that your dwellings at least would be se-
cure,

Nor yourselves be made to suffer what New England's
sons endure.

But now that on Ohio's tyrant's hand is laid,
And the freeds of your brother a desolation made;

Now that Southern marauders can leave their native soil
And make your very neighbors the victims of their spoil;

Now that the "Old Dominion" so proudly claims the
right

To make the "Lion of the West" a captive to her might,
And to violate the laws which you have given,

And trample down most impudently, each high behest of
heaven;

Will ye nearly quail before Virginia's tyrant rod,
For a morsel of potage selling the bright gift of God?

And, craven-like, consenting to remain a cowering slave,
And bury, in her bidding, the hopes that Freedom gave?

Or will ye rise in majesty, and burling every chain
That keeps you from your liberty, your birthright win
again,

And tell the proud Virginian his day of rene is o'er,
He shall know no more his fetters to Ohio's Northern
shore?

Oh! if the name of Liberty is pleasant to your ear,
If the blood of noble valor of others ye revere,

If the deeds of daring freedom are coursing in each vein,
And the soul that dwells within you has spurred the ty-
rant's chain;

Then speak for Truth and Freedom, and your words of
living fire,

Shall be the kindling embers of Slavery's funeral pyre;
Shall forth your speech unfettered, and your brothers shall
go free,

For the words that ye can utter shall give them liberty
and life.

Ho, children of the mighty West! Ho, to the rescue
come!

Recall your stolen brothers back unto their plundered
homes!

Raise high the shout for Freedom, till every hill and
plain

Your words of Truth and Justice re-echo back again.
Tell to the craven South-land, ye no longer will or can

Assist their blood-stained tyrants to enslave a man:
That the chain you tyro to fasten, at Slavery's bid and
beck,

Around your brother's ankle, is calling on your neck;
And that ye now are striving to make Ohio free,

Free from the guilty union with wrong and tyranny,
Free from the blood-stained Compact your Fathers made
of yore,—

The worshipped Constitution, with its stains of human
 gore.

N. T. T.

From William Blake's Song of Experience.

A LITTLE BOY LOST.

"Naught loves another as itself,
Nor reveres another so,
Nor is it possible to thought,
A greater than itself to know."

And, Father, how can I love you,
Or any of my brothers more?
I love you like the little bird,
That picks up crumbs around the door."

The Priest sat by, and heard the child;
In trembling zeal he seiz'd his hair;
He led him by his little coat,
And all admir'd the priestly care.

And standing on the altar high,
"Lo! what a find is here," said he,
"One who sets reason up, for joy,
Of our most holy Mystery."

The weeping child could not be heard,
The weeping parents wept in vain;
They stript him to his little shirt,
And bound him in an iron chain;

And bound him in a holy place,
Where many had been bound before;
The weeping parents wept in vain;
Are such things done on Abdon's shore?

From the Liberty Chimes.

THE CONTRAST.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Thy love thou sentest off to me,
And still, as oft, I trust it back;
Thy messengers I could not see,
In those who everything did lack,

The poor, the outcast, and the black,
Pride held his hand before mine eyes,
The world with flattery stuffed mine ears;

I looked to see a monarch's guise,
Nor dream'd that love would knock for years,
Poor, naked, fettered, full of tears.

Yet, when I sent my love to thee,
Thou with a smile didst take it in,
And entertain'd it royally,
Though grined with earth, with hunger thin,

And leprous with the taint of sin.
Now, every day thy love I meet,
As o'er the earth it wanders wide,

With weary step and bleeding feet,
Still knocking at the heart of pride,
And offering grace, though still denied.

Elmwood, Mass.

Miscellaneous.

MARIE;

OR

Slavery in the United States.

By GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.
Author of *Travels in Ireland and, in conjunction with J. Toussaint,
of the Penitentiary System of the United States.*

(Translated for the Standard.)

CHAPTER IX.

The Trial.

"Besought Nelson to spare me this useless trial,
but in vain. He was inflexible. I could not paralyze
his fears, though it was meet I should obey his
will. I consoled myself with the thought that this
obstacle was only an adjournment of my happiness.
Was I not sure of the heart of Marie?—and had
not Nelson promised me that, on my return, my
grievances were not changed, he would cease to combat
them?"

"Before leaving Marie, I gave her a thousand as-
surances of my love. She listened to me sadly and
silently; and at length, with a softened voice, replied:
"I will not meet your protestations by my own;
since fidelity costs me neither sacrifices nor efforts,
for to me, no other will offer love. But you, gene-
rally, in remaining faithful to me, you have given
me the entrance of life, a land which must be the first
step to my ruin." Her tears closed the reply. At the
day appointed for my departure, as I was about to
take the steamboat in the Bay of Baltimore, which
was to convey me to New-York, at the moment
when the small boat pushed off, Marie, whose adieu
I had just received, made signs to me from the
shore. Stretching her arms towards me—Ludo-
vic! she cried, "you cannot keep your way! I will
absolve you from it!" I bent towards her—but ab-
sence had already begun. I flung my words upon the
winds;—already I was too far from her to be heard.
How rapid was the separation! How speedily did
the space widen between us! At first it was the
distance that sight can measure; then the horizon
came between; and soon the immense, limitless
ocean, the boundless sea, the vast, the gloomy sky.
Thus does a fleeting moment separate our earthly
existence from eternity!"

"When the sea thus bears away one of two parting
friends, the least to be pined is the one who watches
the vessel from the shore. He still gazes when
he can no longer distinguish any one on board. His
sorrow is, as it were, held in suspense; and while
he can perceive the top of a mast, the shadow of a
sail, the flag that waves in the air, the vessel which
is about to disappear. A moment comes when the
vessel, reduced to an imperceptible atom, es-
capes the sight, and melts into the horizon be-
tween the sky and the waves. Then comes the ter-
rible convulsion of the heart;—the gloomy night,
succeeding the last gleam of day;—the signal
of despair for the soul that feels its hour of sorrow
come."

"Yet the one whom the winds and waves bear
onward, is still more wretched. The stream—the
winds, all conspire against him. Hardly have a
few moments expired, when the land on which he
seeks his friend, offers to his eye only an obscure
point, where nothing is distinguishable. On the
immense ocean is one little bark,—on the distant
land, the buildings, forests, and inhabitants, all
confusedly into shadow. Thus the vessel we leave
on the shore escapes suddenly. We suddenly cease
to touch, to hear, to see him—all the sorrows of
absence seize on us at once."

"My suffering was profound. The sight of the
ocean did but add to the sadness of my soul. No-
thing, alas! more closely resembles the days of our
youth, the days of the first love, for the heart
parties are moderate—the image of ordinary life
between calm and tempest. The vessel floats un-
der its own power, and then another
wakes her place, to follow the same course through
the same perils. Thus it is with man on earth.
The world, alone like the ocean, changes not; but
over it, with its quicksands, its abysses, and its
rafts, the human race is tossed."

"In reviewing my latter years, I found such a chain
of misfortunes that it seemed as if my life were
dedicated to ill fortune. I accused my destiny, and
only the love of Marie gave power enough to
struggle alone against my grief, I even strove to
leap myself out of that last consolation; and my
mind was incessantly in forging suspicions and doubts
about the latter. When no longer I knew the sta-
bility of mind is the defect of most women.
Among those who are constant, the greater part are
not only through weakness. By remaining with
me, one may lose their love, but it is not the only
means of preserving their fidelity? I have always
thought that men had the deeper affections,—women
the most lively passions: the former love more
by the heart, the latter more by the head. Man
has most imagination, and imagination always
transcends reality; women most sensibility, and sen-
sibility is nourished by immediate excitement. I
had seen Marie bathed in tears at my departure;
but would her love be proof against absence? As
for me, it was in her presence that I preserved my
fortune, and after being removed from her that I
wept."

"Then began for me a life of profound wretched-
ness, and almost of shame; for I felt my courage be-
come to fail. The grief of separation from her I loved
subdued my soul, and I felt myself confronted by
ills that exceeded all that my imagination had been able
to foreshadow. But why afflict you with the history
of my woes?"

"Here Ludovic paused, his face assumed a gloomy
aspect, his look became fixed, and his movements less
remained in suspense, as if refusing to lend them-
selves to a painful avowal."

"I entreat you," cried the traveller, "to continue
a recital which instructs and affects me. I am
anxious to know your fate—speak, I conjure you."

"I have not told you half my misery; and what
interest can you take?"

"An interest the most lively," replied the trav-
eller, "commands my attention to your words. You
tell me of your sorrow; that is the spell that binds
me. I have never sought the joys and gayeties of
the world, but have always felt myself drawn to-
wards misfortune."

"Alas!" replied Ludovic, after a short pause—"I
have now reached the epoch of my life of which
I feel the ties giving way in my heart, which bound
me to my dearest friend. Even now, I blush at my
weakness. My God! through what trials was I
compelled to pass, before experiencing this guilty
hesitation!"

"I had sworn to Marie, in all the tenderness of my
heart, that I would always love her. The obstacle
that was opposed to me, however, I might be
magnified by others, seemed to me puerile and con-
temptible. Of what consequence was a social pre-
judice to me—the possessor of the heart of Marie?
But when, re-entering the world, and becoming
aware of the subject of its chilliness, I found myself
face to face with this powerful and inflexible prejudice
which spreads through all classes, which is accepted
by all the world, which rules American society, and
without a single voice being raised to combat it,
which crushes its victims without exception, with-
out pity, without remorse; when I saw, in the
free States of the Union, the black population covered
with an opprobrium, more perhaps than slavery;
all persons of color humiliated by public con-
tempt, overwhelmed with outrage, degraded still
more by shame than by poverty; when I felt terrible
struggles going on within me. Sometimes, seized
with indignation and horror, I thought myself strong
enough to wrestle singly against everything; my
pride found satisfaction in the idea of encountering
a whole people, the world entire. But, after these
noble impulses, I fell back in the presence of a thou-
sand disheartening realities, and demanded what
would be my fate, what would be the fate of Marie?
I hesitated; there was my crime. My heart, mean-
while, was not the dupe of the sophisms
of any reason. Marie, I said within myself,
would be wretched if we should be united; but
would she not be more so if our union should not
take place? Would she cease to be a poor colored
woman? I had broken my faith with her. Would
not the world be the more overwhelmed by her
sorrow, when she should have lost the support
of the only being able to make her respected?"

"I bore my uncertainty and my anguish from city
to city; to New-York, to Boston, to Philadelphia."
Here the traveller interrupted his host, for he had
ceased to take the sense of his words.

"Just now," said the traveller, "you detailed to me the fate
of the black race in the Southern States, and I de-
plored with you the sad condition of the slaves. But,
quitting Baltimore, you went to other cities of
the Union, where Slavery is abolished. There, a
different spectacle must have met your eye. I know
that even in the Northern States, the prejudice which

attaches to color, is not entirely annihilated; but I
had the impression, that it was well nigh extinct."
"Be undeceived," replied Ludovic, with vivacity;
"this prejudice has lost nothing of its power at the
North. You should discriminate between the man
and the color."

"According to the law, the negro is in all points
equal to the white; he has the same civil and po-
litical rights; he may be President of the United
States; but the actual exercise of all these rights is
denied him, and he can with difficulty hold any po-
sition in social life, superior to domestic servitude."

"In these States of pretended freedom, the negro
is no longer a slave, but he is free only in name.
I know that the condition of his condition is not
worse than servitude. As a slave, he had no rank
in human society; now, that he is counted among
men, it is only as the lowest and the last."

"It is not uncommon, at the South, to see the
whites kind to the negroes. As the difference which
separates them is immense, and uncontested, the
free do not fear, in approaching the slave, either to
elevate him to their level, or to descend to his."

"In the North, on the contrary, where the equality
of all is proclaimed, the whites maintain a dis-
tance between themselves and the negroes, that they
may not be confounded with them. They fly from
them with a sort of horror, and pitilessly repulse
them, as a protest against an assimilation which
humiliates them, and in order to maintain by custom
a distinction which no longer exists by law."

"Perhaps the oppression which weighs upon a
whole race of men, seems more odious, and more
reviling in proportion as freedom is the rule of the
country where it exists."

"In the East, we see barbarous countries, where
the caprice of a tyrant sports with men's lives;
where power is announced by plunder, the submis-
sion of the subject proclaimed by his degradation;
where force takes the place of law; irresponsible
power, of justice; interest, of morality; and univer-
sal misery, of comfort. There, each one endures
as a destiny; oppressor or oppressed, enslave or
sultan; victim or executioner. There is nowhere,
either good or evil; there is only luck. Crime and
virtue are but fatalities."

"Am I astonished to find in such unhappy lands,
millions of men devoted to Slavery? No; I hard-
ly notice this outrage against morality, in a coun-
try founded on contempt of all the laws of nature
and humanity. There, every social vice is a principle,
and not an abuse; and necessary to the harmony of
the whole."

"But a similar excuse cannot be made for a nation
in possession of free institutions. It knows that
Slavery is evil, because it enjoys liberty. It ought
to detest injustice and persecution, since it practices
each day equity, clarity, and order, and is sepa-
rated by a wide chasm from the barbarous and
unhappy. In a barbarous country, surrounded by the great-
est miseries, only one sentiment of hatred reigns
in the heart: it is against the despot. He alone has
power; through him comes all ill; against him rise
all imprecations."

"But in a land of equality, all the citizens are
responsible for every social injustice. Each one of them
is as accountable, therefore, as the tyrant, for the
single white who is not barbarous, wicked, and per-
secuting, towards the colored race."

"In Turkey, in the most frightful distress, there
is but one despot; in the United States, for every act
of tyranny, there are ten millions of tyrants."
These reflections presented themselves unceasingly
to my mind, and I felt the root of a profound
hatred against the Americans springing in my heart;
for the misfortune of Marie was the work of their
barbarous laws, and odious prejudices, and each one
of them was, in my eyes, an enemy."

"I saw the efforts made by some generous men
to remedy the evil; but this evil is of the kind that
can be cured only by centuries."

"In a society where all suffer alike, a general sen-
timent is formed, which excites to revolution, and
liberty sometimes springs from the extreme of op-
pression."

"But in a country where a portion only of society
is oppressed, while all the rest are at ease, we be-
hold the majority arranging their happy existence,
regardless of the miseries of the minority; every-
thing is in good order and wisely regulated; good
fortune on one side, debasement and suffering on the
other. The wretchedness of the oppressed is not
felt, but cannot make themselves feared; and the evil
however revolting, is not cured by its own extremity,
because, though it increases, it does not extend."

"The misery of the blacks oppressed by American
society, cannot be compared with that of any of the
suffering classes among other people. Hostility
against the colored race, is not the result of a social
laborer, yet these two classes are separated by an
impossible barrier. The poor may become rich—the
rich may become poor; and this alone is sufficient
to temper and modify oppression. But when the
American crushes the black population beneath his
contempt, he knows full well, that he can never have
to undergo the fate of the negro."

"The hospitals were full of some and even
which revealed to me the profound hatred of the
Americans against the blacks."

"One day, at New-York, I was present at a sitting
of the Court of Sessions. On the criminal's bench,
was seated a young mulatto, whom an American
accused of acts of violence. A white, struck, by
a man of color! horror! shame! rung on all sides.
The jury, the judges, the spectators, were indignant
against him, before knowing whether he were guilty
or innocent. I cannot tell you the painful impression that
the debate made on me. Whenever the poor mulatto
wished to speak, his voice was stifled, either by
the authority of the judge, or by the murmurs of the
crowd. All the witnesses were against him. The
most favorable were those who said nothing. The
plaintiff, the plaintiff, the excellent memories.
Those whom the mulatto called upon, were silent.
He was condemned without deliberation. A thrill of joy went through the crowd—a
thousand times more cruel than the sentence of the
magistrate, to the heart of the condemned; for the
judge is paid to fulfill his task, while the hatred of
the people is gratuitous. Perhaps the man was guilty;
but had he been innocent, would not his fate have
been the same?"

"Yet the State of New-York knows only freedom,
all equal among themselves! What, then, are laws,
when custom gives them the lie! Alas! the justice
that the man of color finds in America, is like that
the vanquished meet at the hands of the victor,
after civil war."

"The negroes equal with the whites!—what
Slavery! I saw, even in the enclosure of the
Court of Sessions, the Americans separated from the
blacks; for the first, a distinguished place in the au-
dience; at the bottom of the public hall, a narrow
gallery for the last. Why was this barrier placed
between them, as if to oppose their fusion?"

"There is in Philadelphia, a house of refuge for
young persons, who have committed some offence
between a misdemeanor and crime. Family govern-
ment is not strong enough for them;—a religious
discipline would be too rigorous; the house of refuge,
more severe than the one, and less cruel than the
other, is most suitable for these precocious but not
hardened delinquents. One day, in visiting this
establishment, I was surprised not to see there a
single black child. I asked the director the cause,
and he replied—"it would degrade white children
to associate them with beings devoted to public
contempt."

"Another time, I testified my astonishment that
the children of negroes were excluded from public
schools established for the whites, and I was shown
that no American would send his child to a school
where a single black was found."

"Then I recollected the words uttered by Marie,
in a distant land."

"The separation of whites and negroes every-
where takes place. In the churches where men pray,
—in the hospitals, where they suffer,—in the
prisons, where they repent, and in the burial-ground,
where they rest in everlasting sleep."

"All was true in this picture, which I had regard-
ed as an exaggeration of grief."

"The hospitals were full of some and even
which revealed to me the profound hatred of the
Americans against the blacks."

"One day, at New-York, I was present at a sitting
of the Court of Sessions. On the criminal's bench,
was seated a young mulatto, whom an American
accused of acts of violence. A white, struck, by
a man of color! horror! shame! rung on all sides.
The jury, the judges, the spectators, were indignant
against him, before knowing whether he were guilty
or innocent. I cannot tell you the painful impression that
the debate made on me. Whenever the poor mulatto
wished to speak, his voice was stifled, either by
the authority of the judge, or by the murmurs of the
crowd. All the witnesses were against him. The
most favorable were those who said nothing. The
plaintiff, the plaintiff, the excellent memories.
Those whom the mulatto called upon, were silent.
He was condemned without deliberation. A thrill of joy went through the crowd—a
thousand times more cruel than the sentence of the
magistrate, to the heart of the condemned; for the
judge is paid to fulfill his task, while the hatred of
the people is gratuitous. Perhaps the man was guilty;
but had he been innocent, would not his fate have
been the same?"

"Yet the State of New-York knows only freedom,
all equal among themselves! What, then, are laws,
when custom gives them the lie! Alas! the justice
that the man of color finds in America, is like that
the vanquished meet at the hands of the victor,
after civil war."

"The negroes equal with the whites!—what
Slavery! I saw, even in the enclosure of the
Court of Sessions, the Americans separated from the
blacks; for the first, a distinguished place in the au-
dience; at the bottom of the public hall, a narrow
gallery for the last. Why was this barrier placed
between them, as if to oppose their fusion?"

"There is in Philadelphia, a house of refuge for
young persons, who have committed some offence
between a misdemeanor and crime. Family govern-
ment is not strong enough for them;—a religious
discipline would be too rigorous; the house of refuge,
more severe than the one, and less cruel than the
other, is most suitable for these precocious but not
hardened delinquents. One day, in visiting this
establishment, I was surprised not to see there a
single black child. I asked the director the cause,
and he replied—"it would degrade white children
to associate them with beings devoted to public
contempt."

"Another time, I testified my astonishment that
the children of negroes were excluded from public
schools established for the whites, and I was shown
that no American would send his child to a school
where a single black was found."

"Then I recollected the words uttered by Marie,
in a distant land."

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